# Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 203493 ORIGIN EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SP-02 /015 R

66011

DRAFTED BY: EA/TIMBS:LLROCKE APPROVED BY: EA/TIMBS:REFRITTS

S/SP:JEGARTEN

-----060203 252235Z/62

O 252131Z AUG 77 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK IMMEDIATE AMEMBASSY JAKARTA AMEMBASSY MANILA

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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

FOLLOWING REPEAT KUALA LUMPUR 5847 SENT ACTION SECSTATE 25 AUG 77

QUOTE CONFIDENTIAL KUALA LUMPUR 5847

FOR S/P DIRECTOR LAKE FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: EGEN, ECIN, MY

SUBJECT: NORTH-SOUTH STRATEGIES

**REF: STATE 191928** 

- 1. I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE INTERAGENCY STUDY ON BROAD NORTH-SOUTH STRATEGIES. WHILE I HAVE NOT BEEN HERE LONG, AND CANNOT SPEAK WITH GREAT AUTHORITY ON THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, I OFFER THE FOLLOWING THOUGHTS:
- 2. THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED ASEAN SUMMIT, THE SUBSEQUENT TOP-LEVEL CONFIDENTIAL

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MEETINGS BETWEEN ASEAN ON THE ONE HAND AND JAPAN, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND ON THE OTHER, AND ASEAN PREPARATIONS FOR ITS CONSULTATIONS WITH THE U.S. IN MANILA NEXT MONTH, ALL POINT UP THE FACT THAT THE ASEAN NATIONS ARE DEEPLY COMMITTED TO PRESSING THEIR COLLECTIVE CASE AS DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE OVERALL "NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE." IN FACT THESE EVENTS SHOW THAT THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, AS LEE KUAN YEW OBSERVED AT THE SUMMIT,

ARE LIKELY TO FIND GREATER UNITY IN PURSUING THAT DIALOGUE WITH THE DEVELOPED WORLD THAN IN AGREEING AMONG THEMSELVES ON INTRA-REGIONAL COOPERATION. IT SEEMS TO ME, THEREFORE, THAT THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE U.S., IN THE PROCESS OF CONDUCTING THEIR DIALOGUES WITH ASEAN, OUGHT TO LOOK FOR WAYS IN WHICH ASEAN'S POTENTIAL CAN BE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON OBJECTIVES WE CAN SUPPORT IN THE BROAD

FORA OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. THUS,

IN THE U.S.-ASEAN DIALOGUE (AND TO THE EXTENT WE CAN INFLUENCE THE OTHER PARALLEL DIALOGUES WITH ASEAN--JAPAN AND EEC IN PARTICULAR), THE DISCUSSION SHOULD NOT BE ENTIRELY FOCUSSED ON WHAT THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES CAN DO FOR ASEAN, BUT EVENTUALLY ALSO ON HOW ASEAN CAN CONTRIBUTE MATERIALLY TO THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE.

3. ASEAN COUNTRIES THEMSELVES ARE IN VARIOUS STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT, AND FACE DIFFERENT PROBLEMS IN THEIR ECONOMIES. HOWEVER, BOTH INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY THEY REPRESENT AN AREA OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND/OR POTENTIAL CURRENTLY ALMOST UNPARALLELED IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. THEY INCLUDE COUNTRIES THAT ARE AMONG THE GREATEST PRODUCERS OF BASIC FOODS AND OTHER COMMODITIES IN THE WORLD (RICE IN THAILAND, PALM OIL IN MALAYSIA, ETC.). THEY ALSO ARE RICHLY ENDOWED WITH OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES - MALAYSIA IS THE WORLD'S LARGEST PRODUCER OF NATURAL RUBBER, TIN AND PALM OIL AND THE LARGEST EXPORTER OF TROPICAL HARDWOODS. INDONESIA IS A MAJOR EXPORTER OF PETROLEUM. THE ASEAN COUNTRIES HAVE CONFIDENTIAL

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CREDENTIALS IN THE OVERLAPPING WORLDS OF LDC'S (GROUP OF 77), OF ISLAM, AND OF NON-ALIGNMENT. THEY PLAY ESSENTIALLY MODERATE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLES FROM OUR STANDPOINT. WAYS NEED TO BE FOUND NOT ONLY TO ASSIST THIS IMPORTANT WORLD ASSET TO DEVELOP ITS OWN POTENTIAL FURTHER, BUT ALSO TO MOBILIZE THE MORE DEVELOPED MEMBERS' POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LESS FORTUNATE LDC'S (AND THUS, INDIRECTLY, TO OURSELVES).

4. WE HAVE TWO SUGGESTIONS, ONE AIMED AT THE LOWER END OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS' SCALE, AND THE OTHER AT ENGAGING THE COMMUNIST WORLD IN THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE:

(A) MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE, AND OTHER NATIONS IN THE "RAPIDLY DEVELOPING" LDC CATEGORY COULD PLAY AN INCREASINGLY SIGNIFICANT ROLE AS DONOR NATIONS TO THEIR LESS FORTUNATE COLLEAGUES. THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE THEY COULD PROVIDE WOULD LIKELY BE PERCEIVED BY RECIPIENTS AS MORE APPLICABLE TO THEIR OWN SITUATIONS THAN THAT EXTENDED BY INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS IN MANY INSTANCES. MALAYSIA, FOR EXAMPLY, HAS ALREADY OFFERED TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE SRV AND CAMBODIA IN REHABILITATING THEIRNATURAL RUBBER INDUSTRIES AND FOR THE SRV, TO HELP SET UP AN OIL PALM INDUSTRY. WHETHER MALAYSIA AND ANY OF ITS PARTNERS WOULD BE WILLING TO

SHARE TECHNICAL EXPERTISE WITH OTHER LESS ADVANTAGED LDC'S WHO ARE POTENTIALLY MOGA SERIOUS COMPETITORS REMAINS TO BE SEEN. AS MAJOR EDIBLE OIL AND RICE PRODUCERS AND EXPORTERS RESPECTIVELY MALAYSIA AND THAILAND, FOR EXAMPLE, MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO EMBARK ON PL-480 TYPE CONCESSIONAL SALES PROGRAMS OF THEIR OWN, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD HAVE TO WORK TO COORDINATE SUCH PROGRAMS WITH OUR WON PROGRAMS AND DOMESTIC CONCERNS.

(B) MALAYSIA IS INTERESTED IN INVOLVING EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THE USSR AND THE PRC IN INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY AGREEMENTS. THESE COUNTRIES ARE, IN SOME CASES, IMPORTANT PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS AND THE MALAYSIANS BELIEVE THEIR COOPERATION WOULD CONSIDERABLY STRENGTHEN ANY AGREEMENT. ALSO, THERE IS SOME TENTATIVE INTEREST WITHIN THE GOM IN EXPLAINING THE DESIRABILITY CONFIDENTIAL

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OF HOLDING AN ASEAN-USSR OR ASEAN-COMECON DIALOGUE. WE DO NOT YET KNOW HOW THIS IDEA WOULD BE RECEIVED BY OTHER ASEAN MEMBERS, OR FOR THAT MATTER, WHETHER IT WILL BE ULTIMATELY ACCEPTED BY THE GOM, GIVEN THE USSR'S ANTI-ASEAN STATEMENTS DURING THE SUMMIT AND THE GOM'S TRADITIONAL SUSPICIION OF THE USSR. IF ASEAN WERE TO MAKE THE REQUEST, IT WOULD BE AN INTERESTING CHALLENGE TO THE EASTERN EUROPEANS. ON BILATERAL AID, INVESTMENT OR FINANCE, HOWEVER, MALAYSIA WOULD REFUSE PROGRAMS INVOLVING THE USSR OR OTHER BLOC COUNTRIES. PAST EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT THE GOM IS EXCEPTIONALLY WARY OF SOVIET ASSISTANCE AND THE SOVIET "TECHNICIANS" THAT ACCOMPANY IT. MAKING SUCH A PROPOSAL TO THE GOM MIGHT EVEN BE CONSIDERED TO BE INSENSITIVE TO THEIR STANCE ON THIS ISSUE.

5. TO SEEK TO ENGAGE MALAYSIA, AND OTHER "RAPIDLY DEVELOPING" LDC'S, IN SUCH EFFORTS, THE U.S. AND OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WILL HAVE TO CONTINUE TO BE RESPONSIVE TO THEIR CORE CONCERNS: COMMODITIES, TRADE, INVESTMENT, ETC. OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE 5TH INTERNATIONAL TIN AGREEMENT LAST YEAR WAS WELL-RECEIVED BY THE MALAYSIANS. ANOTHER EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO INVOLVE THE GOM IN AN EFFECTIVE MANNER WILL OCCUR AT THE UNCTAD MEETINGS ON NATURAL RUBBER IN GENEVA OCT. 10-11. 1977. MALAYSIA. AND OTHER NATURAL RUBBER PRODUCERS SUCH AS INDONESIA AND THAILAND, WILL BE DISCUSS-ING CONSUMER PARTICIPATION IN A PRICE STABILIZATION SCHEME FOR NATURAL RUBBER. AS THE LARGEST PRODUCER - FOLLOWED BY INDONESIA AND THAILAND - MALAYSIA WILL HAVE A LARGE SAY IN HOW ANY AGREEMENT IS NEGOTIATED AND COMPLETED. AS SEEN BY LAST YEAR'S MALAYSIAN-INSPIRED ASSOCIATION OF NATURAL RUBBER PRODUCING COUNTRIES ANRPC) AGREEMENT AMONG PRODUCERS, THE TYPE OF STABILIZATION SCHEME ENVISIONED, SIMILAR TO THE INTERNATIONAL TIN AGREEMENT, WOULD NOT PROVIDE FOR INFLATED PRICES BUT RATHER STABILIZATION OF PRICES AND GREATER PREDICTABILITY OF EARNINGS AND COSTS FOR BOTH PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS. IF THE U.S. IS SEEN AS TAKING CONFIDENTIAL

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A STANCE DURING THESE RUBBER NEGOTIATIONS OF WANTING TO REACH AN EQUITABLE AND WORKABLE AGREEMENT WE BELIEVE THAT THE MODERATE LDC'S, IN THIS CASE LED BY THE MALAYSIANS, SHOULD BE PRAGMATIC ENOUGH TO REACH AN EARLY AGREEMENT. BY DOING THIS WE WILL ESTABLISH A PATTERN FOR FUTURE COMMODITY NEGOTIATIONS UNDER UNCTAD AUSPICES AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA. IN THIS MANNER, DEALING WITH MODERATE LDC'S, WE CAN SHOW OUR RESPONSIVENESS TO THE DESIRES OF LDC'S WITHOUT ACCEPTING THE POLITCIAL INVECTIVE OF THE MARE RADICAL LDC'S.

6. CONCLUSION: WE BELIEVE THAT OUR CURRENT APPROACH OF DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN LEVELS OF LDC'S IS A VALID MEANS OF INVOLVING MORE DEVELOPED LDC'S SUCH AS MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE IN A WAY THAT WILL MODERATE DEMANDS AND PROVIDE RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP IN THE G-77. THIS COULD RESULT IN A MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH THAN HAS PREVIOUSLY EXISTED. A FORTHCOMING STANCE ON A NATURAL RUBBER AGREEMENT ON THE PART OF THE U.S. WILL ALLOW MODERATE LDC'S TO POINT TO A SUCCESS STORY AND AN EXAMPLE OF HOW TO APPROACH THENORTH IN NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUES IN AN EFFECTIVE MANNER. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ARE NOT FORTHCOMING TO REASONABLE POSITIONS PUT FORWARD BY MODERATE LDC'S IN MULTI-LATERAL FORA, THE MODERATES WILL BE FORCED INTO THE RADICAL CAMP AND WILL BE BACKING POSITIONS THE U..S. WILL FIND UNACCEPTABLE. SIMILARLY, IF THE ASEAN COUNTRIES, AND SIMILAR LDC'S. ARE PERSUADED THAT THEIR DIALOGUES WITH WESTERN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND JAPAN ARE PROGRESSING SATIS-FACTORILY, THEY MAY BE RECEPTIVE TO SUGGESTIONS TO ENGAGE THE COMMUNIST

COUNTRIES IN SUCH DIALOGUES AS WELL.

7. DEPT REPEAT TO OTHER POSTS IF AND AS DESIRED. MILLER

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X

Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am Channel Indicators: n/a **Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** 

Concepts: PERSONAL OPINION, POLICIES, LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, STUDIES, INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS

Control Number: n/a

Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 25-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am

Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 22 May 2009 Disposition Event: Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Heason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE203493
Document Source: CORE

**Document Unique ID:** 00 **Drafter:** EA/TIMBS:LLROCKE

Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A

**Expiration:** Film Number: D770308-0130 Format: TEL

From: STATE

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770822/aaaaasgi.tel

Line Count: 209 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History: Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

Message ID: 9e91e852-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc Office: ORIGIN EA

Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Reference: 77 STĂTE 191928

Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags: Review Date: 11-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am

Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 1482830 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: NORTH-SOUTH STRATEGIES TAGS: EGEN, ECIN, MY, ASEAN
To: BANGKOK JAKARTA MULTIPLE

Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/9e91e852-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009